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·NUCLEAR·
TIMES

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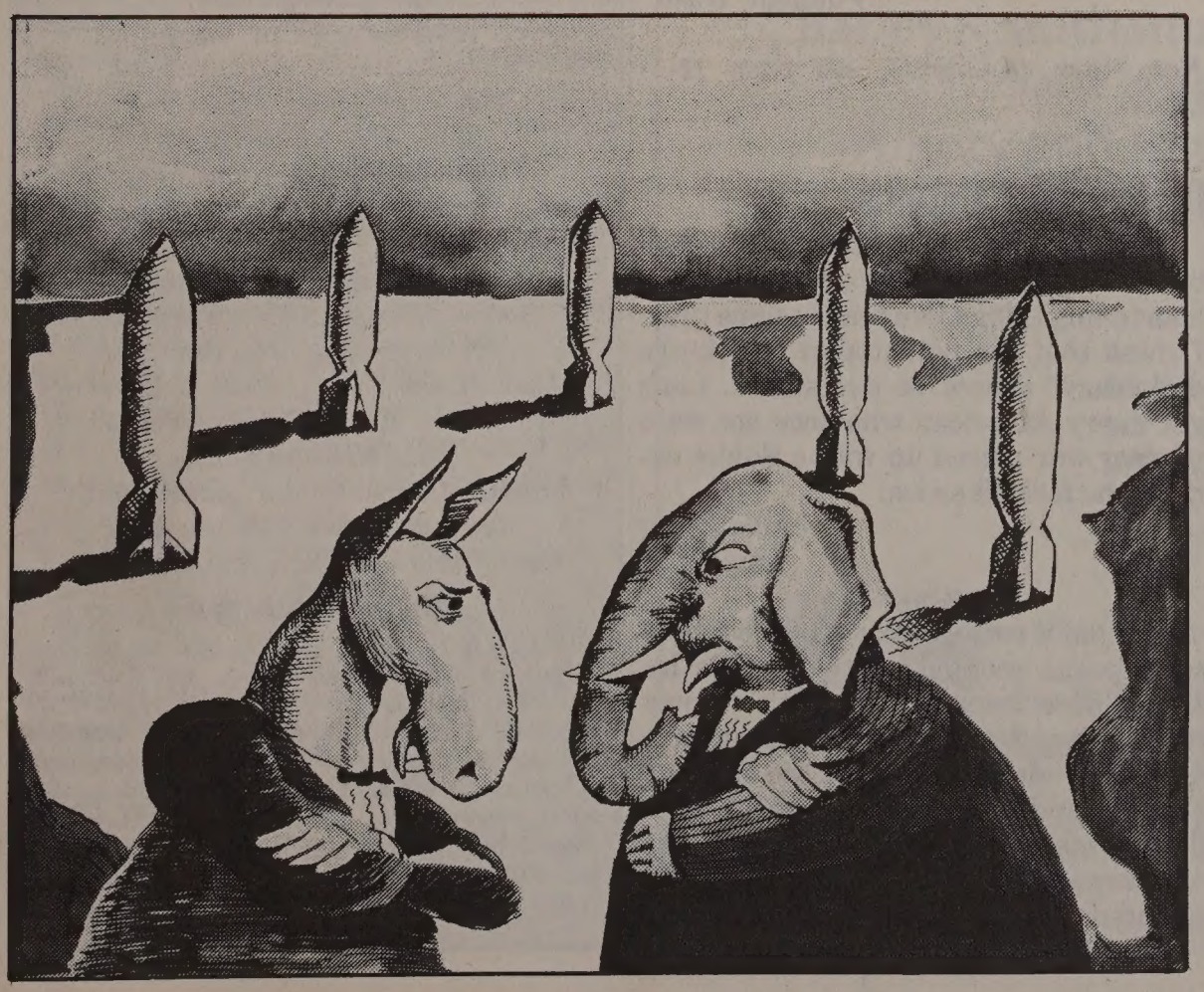
Will Missiles Matter In November?



"Disarming Images" ■ *Page 5*

Test Ban Takes Off

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Call For Unity: Debate Goes On

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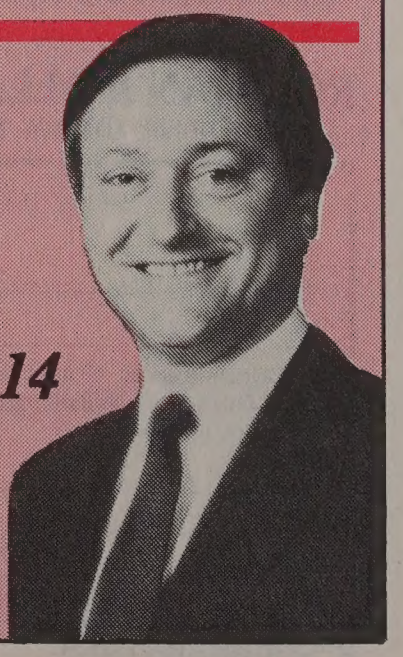
Ohio Guv Gives Peace A Dance



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JUST PUBLISHED

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Dietrich Fischer, New York University

"Perhaps the most important book ever written about nuclear war... Distinctive, realistic and highly original, this book should be read by any person who is serious about what it means to be a citizen in the nuclear age."— *Richard Falk*

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JUST PUBLISHED

Moral Principles and Nuclear Weapons

Douglas P. Lackey, City University of New York

Is nuclear war ever morally justified? Is it morally justified to possess nuclear weapons, intending to use them only for defense? Is it morally justified to threaten to use nuclear weapons in order to prevent nuclear attacks? Is it morally justified to launch a nuclear counterattack in response to a nuclear first strike? Professor Lackey answers these and related questions in the light of contemporary moral theory and in the light of traditions about the justice of war. He also provides a detailed account of the development of nuclear weapons from 1940 to the present, and a critique of contemporary theories of nuclear strategy.

1984 / 320 pp. / ca $25.00

Risks of Unintentional Nuclear War

Daniel Frei with Christian Catrina, University of Zurich

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Letters

Slow Down, Randy

The members of "the resurgent disarmament movement," as Randy Kehler puts it, do need a common voice [June '84]. And I agree that we need more of this sort of approach. Where I disagree, and strongly, is in the fixing of the program (the freeze) and of the organization (the Freeze Campaign). It seems to me rather that our priorities are more a mix of the national agenda, regional opportunities, and personal energies and attitudes, so that our coalitions shift from time to time.

As an example, our group recently participated in an effort to build a common voice against the MX. Many national and local groups and individuals were involved. This was an ad hoc coalition—but the practice will help us perform more effectively at the next opportunity. There was no reason to institutionalize this coalition, and indeed, we cannot spare the energy to do so. Another project may attract a different mix of activists, and we need to maintain the freedom to change our approach.

Perhaps Randy has the long-term solutions to the problems of setting ultimate priorities, devising a plan for reversing the arms race, and creating a supportive organization. But he's going too fast for me. Let's start on the regional level, where we can truly talk to one another, and can see the results of our collaborative efforts.

—Heidi Granholm
Palouse SANE
Pullman, Wash.

(*For other comments, see page 12*—Eds.)

Diplomatic Relations

Your June article "Citizens Back Detente From Below" was one of the most heartening things I've read in some time. I think that the potential of "track-two diplomacy" cannot be overstated. Let's get every American who does not want nuclear war paired up with a Soviet citizen who feels likewise.

Linda Palter
Islip, N.Y.

How did it come to pass that the otherwise useful and informative article by Rima Shore managed to mention every other organization promoting American-Soviet friendship except for the one that is oldest and which has the most extensive formal relationships to its Soviet counterparts? I am referring to the 22 affiliated societies of the National Council

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of American-Soviet Friendship, of which we are one in Connecticut. Whereas other groups have ad hoc exchanges, we have a formal working relation to the USSR-USA Friendship Society of the Soviet Union with whom we exchange delegations, and have a formal pairing program for small cities, called Communities Linked for Peace, in addition to Sister Cities.

—David Adams, President
Connecticut Association for
American-Soviet Friendship
Woodmont, Ct.

The GOP Gap

In the "old days" we used to have moderate Republicans like John Anderson, Clifford Case, etc. Where are the GOP moderates now? What effect will they have on the GOP platform and in November?

—Raymond Mostek
Villa Park, Ill.

(*See page 18*—Eds.)

A Matter of Degree

In the article about Jesse Jackson's campaign [June '84] there is a statement that I have publicly said I would vote for Mondale if he is the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party. As your readers must have noticed, that is not a direct quote from me. Indeed, I have never made such a public statement. I have publicly stated, and will as many times as I can, that I believe it is imperative to defeat Ronald Reagan this November.

At the same time, it is clear that progressive people are caught between a rock and a hard place. The domestic and foreign policy priorities of this nation will not be fundamentally changed with a Democratic victory in November. At the same time, there would be a difference—mostly in degree—between a Reagan and a Democratic administration. In our efforts to dump Reagan, we need to build and project a national movement strong enough to have a positive and lasting impact on the policies of this nation. If the Democrats come to power this November they must know our movement will make just as many demands on them as we do on the Republicans.

As we approach this year's election we must also take much more seriously the need to provide a real and meaningful progressive electoral alternative. The electoral arena is too important for us to ignore and we can not allow ourselves to be trapped in the two-party system that rules this country.

—Leslie Cagan
Mobilization for Survival
New York, N.Y.

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Early Warnings

THE DECADE AFTER?: "I guess it's the other side of *The Day After*," a spokeswoman for ABC television in New York comments in reference to the network's upcoming film, *Topeka, Kansas .... USSR*. *Topeka*, which will be written and directed by Donald Wrye (who made the TV movie *Divorce Wars*), will be set in the 1990s, 10 years after the United States has been taken over by the Soviet Union following a conventional—not a nuclear—war. (Presumably the United States decided "better Red than dead.") It will probably be aired in 1985 or 1986.

Eyebrows were raised when ABC announced the project to its affiliates. The announcement came shortly after the conservative watchdog group, Accuracy in Media, introduced a resolution at the annual ABC shareholders meeting calling for an investigation into whether ABC, in making *The Day After*, had been "used to disseminate Soviet propaganda." The resolution was voted down by a 30 to 1 margin but ABC chairman Leonard Goldenson, asked at the meeting whether ABC would ever show the "alternative" to *The Day After* scenario (such as "United States surrenders") startled nearly everyone by saying, "yes." Another fact that suggests a direct link to *The Day After* is that Topeka is suspiciously close to Lawrence, Kansas, the setting for the previous film. But Bob Wright, an ABC publicist in Los Angeles, says that *Topeka* was "probably Don Wrye's idea" and wasn't intended to provide "balance" to *The Day After* "although it could look that way."

RUNNING ON EMPTY: What's going to be one of the leading growth industries by the end of this decade? It just might be in electro-magnetic pulse-resistant equipment, according to International Resource Development, a market research firm in Norwalk, Connecticut. EMP is the sudden electromagnetic surge which accompanies a nuclear explosion; it can knock out most types of electronic circuits, such as those in cars, communication equipment, and computers. IRD predicts a $10 billion market in military and commercial EMP-proof electronic components by the end of the 1980s, noting this "fast-growing market has already attracted dozens of major electronics firms, and there will soon be hundreds." In a 144-page report, IRD maintains that "the awareness of the effects of EMP is frighteningly low in business circles."

CARRYING A TORCH: One of the highlights of the Survivalfest mass-rally for peace on August 5 in Los Angeles will be the lighting of the "peace flame" brought to this country from Hiroshima, the first time this has been done in 17 years. It took months of negotiation between the sponsors of the rally, the '84 Mobilization for Peace and Justice, and the mayor's

Blips

The **League of Women Voters** will sponsor 85 debates this fall between House and Senate candidates. **Educators for Social Responsibility** is developing classroom materials and activities relating to the debates for distribution to teachers in areas where debates will be held .... The **Freeze Campaign's** major fall event, Freeze Weekend, to be held October 12-14, will focus on election-related actions, not demonstrations. But organizers in Chicago are aiming to make a regional protest there on October 13 "the largest demonstration of its kind ever held in this part of the country" .... **Mobilization for Survival** is sponsoring over 80 actions at weapons facilities, banks, defense installations and other sites on September 22-24 to "challenge local military institutions that will never appear on any ballot" .... In *Thinking About the Unthinkable in the 1980s*, a posthumous book to be published this month, **Herman Kahn** takes on the Catholic Bishops and Jonathan Schell, among others .... A massive nationwide citizen's canvass is being planned for September 22, sponsored by a coalition of peace, women's and religious groups, and coordinated by **Vote for Survival** and **Women's Peace Initiatives** in Washington, D.C. .... The first completed **B-1 bomber** will "roll-out" on September 4 at the Rockwell plant in Palmdale, California. President Reagan might use the occasion to kick off his fall campaign .... The **National Student Campaign for Voter Registration** hopes to create public service announcements that could be played on MTV and other cable music channels this fall. Meanwhile, the **Creative Activity Project** in New York is planning to produce a three-minute antinuclear "rap" video .... **High Technology Professionals for Peace** is working on a "Hippocratic Oath" for scientists and engineers .... **Joe McGinness**, bestselling author of *The Selling of the President* and *Fatal Vision*, is now working on the "secret story" of life at Los Alamos in the 1940s.

office in Hiroshima to make this possible. Assisting in the negotiations were author and editor Norman Cousins and his adopted daughter Shigeko Sasamari, a survivor of the atomic bombing. The flame will probably by brought to this country by one of the hibakusha, but it's not known now exactly how this will be done (on its last trip it came over in a butane hand warmer). Organizers are searching for a permanent home for the flame in the Los Angeles area and hope to have a formal dedication ceremony next August, the 40th anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing.

The Mobilization originally scheduled a mass rally for the opening day of the Olympics, July 28, but had some trouble gaining broad-based support for this action. Many local groups feared that the public would view this as a "negative" protest. A Hiroshima commemoration, they reasoned, would deliver a clearer message.

BRUSH WITH FATE: On September 14 political canvassing will take on a new meaning when "Disarming Images: Art For Nuclear Disarmament" premieres in the Contemporary Arts Center in Cincinnati, Ohio. The exhibition features the sculptures, paintings, and photographs of 46 artists, including the works of Robert Rauschenberg, Claes Oldenburg and Laurie Anderson. It will stop in nine other cities during its 30-month tour and a European tour is in the works for 1987.

"Disarming Images" was created by the Bread and Roses cultural project of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees (the nation's largest union of hospital workers) and New York City's Physicians for Social Responsibility, who commissioned works

"They're Juggling Our Genes": Photo from "Disarming Images"

—mostly original—for this display. Moe Foner, executive director of Bread and Roses, says he and curator Nina Felshin were looking for more than "mushroom clouds" from the artists. One notable work is a Francesc Torres painting of a phallic "War Head and/or Trans-Historical Helmet" signifying the virility of the arms race. Another explicit piece, "The Lord's Prayer" by Hans Haacke, combines the image of Ronald Reagan with the text: "Lord, the pershings are launched! What now?"

Foner hopes that this project—designed for the "unconverted"—will draw equal or more attention than Bread and Roses' last touring exhibition, "Images of Labor," which was visited by 350,000. As the exhibit tours, local antinuclear groups will use it as a focus for forums, conferences, film series and concerts. After the opening in Cincinnati, the show will visit San Diego, Santa Barbara and Pasadena, California; Albany, Utica and the Bronx, New York; Charleston, South Carolina, Billings, Montana and Pullman, Washington.

JURY'S PRUDENCE: Are air-launched cruise missiles necessary for the defense of this country? Apparently the jury in the "Griffiss Plowshares" trial didn't think so. On June 13, the U.S. District Court jury in Syracuse, New York, found the seven Griffiss Plowshares activists guilty of conspiracy and destruction of government property. They were on trial for a Thanksgiving Day 1983 action in which they entered the Griffiss Air Force Base in Rome, New York, and damaged the undercarriage of a B-52 aircraft and six auxiliary engines. (The base was the first in the country to deploy cruise mis-

The Cold and the Dark of Nuclear Winter

Recent scientific findings made public at the Conference on the World After Nuclear War (Oct. 31-Nov. 1, 1983) suggest that nuclear war could generate vast clouds of soot and dust that could envelop and transform the Earth into a darkened, frozen planet for weeks or months, thus threatening the very survival of many species, including humankind.

According to Lewis Thomas, these scientific discoveries "...may turn out...to have been the most important research findings in the long history of science...(These findings) change everything in the world about the prospect of nuclear war."

As the successor to the Conference on the World After Nuclear War, the Center on the Consequences of Nuclear War cooperates with other organizations and disseminates information on nuclear winter.

Nuclear winter would bring a pall of darkness and sub-freezing temperatures. Illustration: Rob Wood, Stansbury, Ronsaville, Wood, Inc., 1983. From slide series.

Nuclear Winter Information Materials Available

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- **Color slides with captions** depicting biological consequences of nuclear winter.
- ***The Cold and the Dark,*** hardcover book (W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1984). Authors: Paul R. Ehrlich, Carl Sagan, Donald Kennedy, Walter Orr Roberts. Includes proceedings of Conference on the World After Nuclear War, 4-color illustrations, etc.
- ***Science* reprints** of the two key scientific papers on nuclear winter and its biological effects.
- **Information brochure** with color illustrations, and order form for information materials.

Under preparation: slide show, filmstrip, speaker's kit, photo exhibit.

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PHOTO BY DONA ANN MCADAMS

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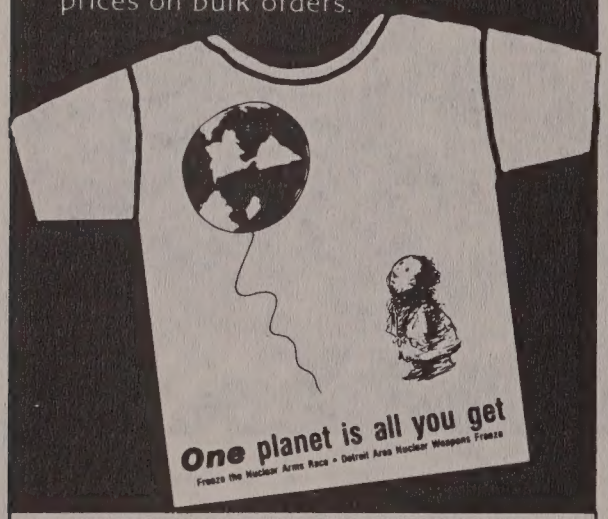

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siles capable of carrying nuclear warheads.) But the jurors acquitted the defendants of "damaging the national defense." Afterward, defendant Dean Hammer commented: "The jury, in its common sense, knows these weapons do not make us safe." The seven protesters face a maximum prison term of 15 years.

BUSHWHACKED: Though the MX survived a 48-48 tie vote in the Senate in June (broken by Vice President George Bush), MX opponents happily noted after the vote that they are only one vote shy of a majority in the Senate. The close vote introduced eight senators who had been supporters of the missile into the opposition. They are: Lawton Chiles and Charles Grassley, who cosponsored the anti-MX amendment; J. Bennett Johnston Jr., Russell Long, Charles Mathias, Larry Pressler, Jennings Randolph, and Lloyd Bentsen.

WRITE MOVE: John Irving, Bernard Malamud and V.S. Pritchett are writing to stop the arms race. These novelists, together with such authors as Susan Cheever and the gothic plot master V.C. Andrews, are all part of a Writers and Publishers Alliance for Disarmament project headed by Simon & Schuster editor Bob Bender. "We're contacting about 200 authors and asking them to write about disarmament," Bender says. By Labor Day, Bender and his publishing cohorts hope to start sending out the articles and stories they have solicited to newspapers and magazines around the country. "Eventually we hope to put a book together," says Bender.

SHORT MISSILES GOT NO REASON: Much attention has been focused lately on the MX missile's plight in Congress. But where's its illegitimate offspring, Midgetman? Bottled up in some congressional committee? Not quite. The Air Force is proceeding quickly with the small, single-warhead missile.

Four aerospace firms—Boeing, General Dynamics, Martin Marietta and McDonnell Douglas—have been awarded contracts to design the missile and evaluate basing modes. These companies (with the exception of McDonnell Douglass) and Bell Aerospace Textron are also working on creating a mobile launch vehicle for the missile, which is expected to be shuttled about on large government installations. According to *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, a "primary focus" of this program is to develop "hardened" vehicles that will not flip over when hit by a supersonic air blast from a nuclear detonation.

Testing of scale models is expected to start in August at the Sandia National Laboratories in Albuquerque, New Mexico. The missile is not due for deployment until some time in the 1990s.

One of the biggest attractions at a recent open house at Fairchild Air Force Base in Spokane, Washington was the cruise missile display. Visitors paid $1.50 to sit atop the weapon and get their picture taken, and there were many takers. Shown here: Tom Faust and son Christopher.

PENTACOST BENEFITS: "Nothing can hide the train now," says Dennis Marker, referring to the U.S. Department of Energy's "White Train" which transports nuclear warheads from the Pantex plant in Amarillo, Texas to weapons depots across the country. On June 10 and 11, Marker and thousands of religious peace activists participated in Peace Pentacost vigils and worship services along the train route and blocked the main entrance to the DOE headquarters in Washington, D.C. Over 200 events, coordinated by Sojourners, took place in 40 states. Joining the protest vigils were 13 Catholic bishops, including the archbishops of Denver and Seattle.

Marker, a Sojourner staffer, reports that at least 40 demonstrators were arrested during the Pentacost activities. In Lansing, Michigan, 10 were arrested at the Williams International plant where motors for the cruise missile are manufactured. At the federal building in San Francisco, 20 were arrested when they attempted to conduct a peace liturgy in the lobby. Twelve arrests occurred at the Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, office of Republican Senator John Heinz, where protesters urged him to vote against nuclear weapons and military aid to Central America. A group of demonstrators entered the Wurtsmith Air Force Base near Saginaw, Michigan and after they read church statements against nuclear armaments, seven were arrested, including Saginaw's Mayor (pro tem) Sister Ardeth Platte. There were over a hundred gatherings along the White Train route.

Items for this section were contributed by Barbara Bedway, David Corn, Susan Jaffe, Doug Lavin, Jesse Mentken and Renata Rizzo.

PHOTO BY JIM SHELTON

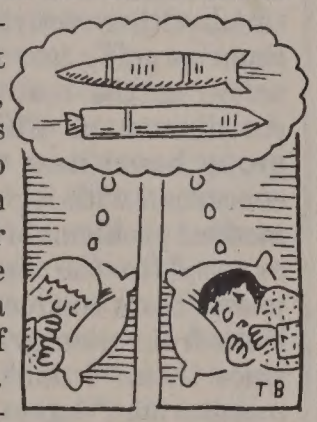
Blue-Prints

Studies, Proposals & Brainstorms

Has the threat of nuclear war caused a global epidemic of psychological problems among children? That's the question behind an ambitious research project begun by the Nuclear Psychology Program of the Department of Psychiatry at Harvard University.

Last summer the **Harvard Department of Psychiatry** and the **International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War** (IPPNW) sponsored a trip by three psychiatrists to the Soviet Union. The team interviewed Soviet children at Pioneer camps and found that, like many American children who had been studied in a similar way, a high proportion expressed anxiety about the possibility of nuclear war.

Now, according to **Dr. Eric Chivian**, director of the project and one of the researchers who traveled to the Soviet Union last summer, the investigation is being expanded to include children in a number of other countries where nuclear war is a major subject of public discussion. The study will include countries such as the United Kingdom, West Germany, East Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, China, India and Japan.



The project, expected to last about three years, will produce videotapes of the interviews with the children. Chivian envisions the videos being played on television in many countries. "There's a great interest in listening to children in general," he says, "and particularly from foreign countries and on this issue." The goal of the media side of the project, according to Chivian, is to "decrease the boundaries between people in different countries. This is why we are going to focus on countries in the East-West blocs."

Preliminary reports from some countries, including Canada, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Belgium and Finland, were presented at the fourth IPPNW conference in Helsinki in early June. A couple of clear findings emerged from the reports, according to Chivian.

First, the threat of nuclear war is a major concern among adolescents, regardless of nationality (although Chivian says that cultural differences require further examination). The second finding involved the relationship between anxiety and information. The reports showed that in many cases increased information about the nuclear predicament led to increased anxiety. But while anxiety was shown to rise with greater discussion and awareness of the issue, pessimism fell. With more information kids seemed more anxious, but also more optimistic about bringing the crisis under control. Chivian suspects that this distinction between anxiety and despair may have important implications for the teaching of nuclear issues. The proceedings of the conference, along with commentaries by leading international social psychologists, will be published by IPPNW within six months.

Contrary to what was reported in this column last month, the **National Academy of Sciences** postponed indefinitely its trip to the Soviet Union to meet with their colleagues in the Soviet Academy of Science. The sudden decision was announced by NAS president **Frank Press** as a protest against Soviet treatment of dissident physicist Andrei Sakharov. But while this attempt at "track-two" diplomacy misfired, another went well. **Eric Chivian**, who embarked on a nine-day trip to the Soviet Union immediately following the IPPNW conference, met with senior representatives of the Soviet Institute of Psychology—including the deputy director and one of the leading experts on adolescent psychology—about collaborating on the IPPNW/Harvard project. According to Chivian, his meetings laid the groundwork for joint study between American and Soviet researchers, and he reports that "to our knowledge this is the first joint [U.S.-Soviet] study on this subject or any social survey about attitudes." He also notes that his Soviet colleagues were highly supportive of the research process.

A new study assessing the effects of U.S. and Soviet above-ground nuclear testing during the 1950s and 1960s finds a correlation between peak periods of testing and a peak number of fetal deaths in the three population groups studied (the only groups with complete records for fetal deaths and strontium-90 content in milk). Researchers with Accord Research and Educational Associates, Inc. in New York City conclude that "global fallout has caused a large number of excess fetal deaths." The researchers propose that these findings be taken as preventive medicine by governments that may begin atmospheric testing as they develop nuclear technology, or by non-signers of the Limited Test Ban Treaty, France and China, which may step up above-ground testing.

—Corinna Gardner

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EXPLOSIVE ISSUE FOR ACTIVISTS

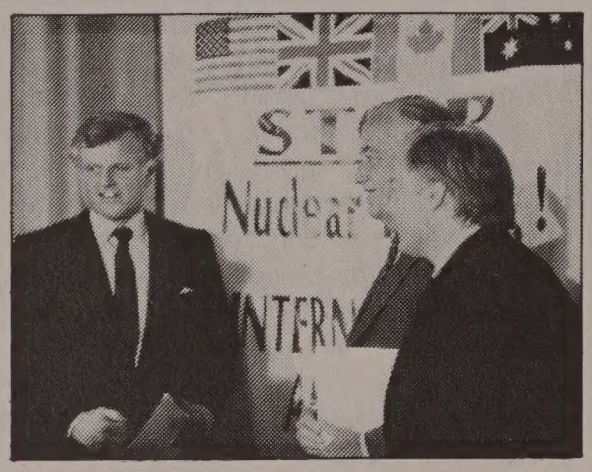
Test Ban Wins Support

At the Nevada Test Site on February 15 the ground caved in following a nuclear test, killing one worker and injuring 13 others. A test blast on May 1 at Yucca Flat caused the earth to rumble, raised dust storms in the desert and made skyscrapers sway in Las Vegas, about 80 miles away. For most Americans, however, nuclear testing is a subterranean issue, out of sight and out of mind. But many in the arms control community are now attempting to raise the issue up from underground.

In fact, as groups press for a ban on nuclear testing, some hope to make it one of the most important issues for the movement in the months ahead and in 1985. David Cortright, executive director of SANE, for example, sees a moratorium on nuclear testing and approval of a comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT) as an effective first step towards a freeze. The Center for Defense Information held a meeting with most of the top church and arms control groups in Washington in June as a first step in forming a coalition on this issue. Those who advocate making a CTBT the legislative priority for the movement reason that it is the most politically achievable, and that it lays the groundwork for other anti-nuclear objectives, such as a freeze or a "quick freeze."

A comprehensive test ban treaty has been a U.S. policy objective since President Kennedy's administration when atmospheric tests were halted. But in 1982 President Reagan suspended test ban negotiations because of verification difficulties. Test-ban advocates counter that recent advances in seismic monitoring and a Soviet decision to allow on-site inspection mean that all but the smallest underground blast could be verified. The CTBT could become an electoral issue this fall, since the Democratic presidential candidate favors a CTBT.

Greenpeace and its 400,000 supporters are pursuing a two-pronged fight for a CTBT, with legislative work on Capitol Hill and direct action at the Nevada Test Site, an empty stretch of desert in southern Nevada pock-marked by hundreds of tests the United States has conducted there since 1951. Greenpeace and other anti-test groups, such as the Center for Defense Information, Physicians for Social Responsibility, and the Environmental Policy Institute, lobbied consistently for Senate Joint Resolution 29,



Senators Kennedy and Mathias and Rep. Leach (r.) strike up the ban

which was written by Senators Edward Kennedy and Charles Mathias. The non-binding resolution was recently turned into an amendment to the defense authorization bill, at which point it picked up an influential cosponsor, Senator Charles Percy, who, according to Greenpeace's disarmament director Eric Fersht, had been "an obstacle" to the amendment when it was in the form of a resolution.

The amendment, which was passed in the Senate 77 to 22 on June 20, called for the president to "propose to the Soviet Union an immediate resumption of negotiations toward . . . a verifiable Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty," and to seek Senate approval for the Threshold Test Ban and the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions treaties. (Those treaties created a 150-kiloton limit on the yield of underground nuclear explosions and are observed by both the United States and the Soviet Union, although not ratified by the United States.) Fersht called the margin of victory in the Senate "amazing"—it exceeded by 10 votes the minimum vote necessary to ratify a CTBT in the Senate. The amendment's counterpart in the House is sponsored by Representatives Jim Leach and Berkley Bedell.

David Martinez of San Francisco's Golden Gate Alliance thinks Congress should go further. Last winter Martinez sent a draft resolution to his congresswoman, Barbara Boxer, which called for the United States to end warhead testing immediately and challenge the Soviet Union to do the same (like a "quick freeze," except without the call for a freeze on deployment). Martinez's original version was reworked and introduced by Boxer and Representative Nicholas Mavroules of Massachusetts earlier this year as House Joint Resolution 441, but it lacks the support of key House leadership, and may not make it out of committee.

A moratorium on testing is the only way to prevent negotiators from "holding talks until doomsday," says Martinez. Other activists are forcing the issue by going to court and taking direct action at the test site. Janet Gordon, coordinator of Citizens Call, a Utah group based near the test site, is less concerned with legislation than with the medical problems of locals who have been exposed to the radiation from atmospheric tests conducted in the 1950s and leaks from underground tests conducted since then. "I don't see any need for a moratorium," says Gordon. "They could sign that treaty in five minutes if the will was there." Citizens Call, together with groups such as Downwinders, whose members live downwind from the test site, are pressing the government to pay compensation to those afflicted with cancer associated with radioactive fallout. Gordon cites a May federal district court ruling that found the government negligent and blamed fallout from nuc-

Wrap-Up

The new **National Campaign to Save the ABM Treaty** in Washington, D.C. released its first report on June 19 and began a campaign against the Star Wars program, charging that scheduled tests "will soon collide" with treaty restrictions .... 26 **Roman Catholic orders** associated with the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility in New York have announced the sale of 49,000 shares of General Electric stock, valued at more than $2.4 million, because of GE's weapons work (it ranks in the top 10 of nuclear weapons producers).... Actress **Margot Kidder** joined 250 experts and activists at the **Committee for National Security's** third annual Women's Leadership Conference from June 12–14 in Washington, D.C. ....Last month more than 1500 linked New Jersey and Pennsylvania across the Ben Franklin Bridge in **Philadelphia** protesting the nuclear arms race. More than 100 were arrested in an attempt to shut down the U.S. Army's **Rock Island Arsenal** in Illinois and 71 were arrested in a protest outside the **AVCO plant** near Boston .... **Freeze activists in Nebraska,** disappointed their pro-freeze/anti-MX ballot initiative was denied a spot on the November ballot by the state Supreme Court, now plan to push a resolution through the state legislature .... An amendment to block $190 million for civil defense in this year's defense bill was defeated in the House by a 301–87 vote.

PHOTO BY STACY P. DUNCAN

lear weapon tests for nine cancer deaths as an important first. (Judge Bruce Jenkins awarded $2.66 million in damages.) This decision—the first to link low-level radiation to cancer in court—should affect hundreds of similar suits if it is not overturned on appeal.

Other groups working in the test site region are Greenpeace and the Lenten Desert Experience, a religious group composed mostly of Franciscans that held its annual Lent vigil at the test site last April. The vigil, which included a blockade and a call for a 30-day test moratorium, resulted in 61 arrests, but no charges. The action prompted the group to change its name to Nevada Desert Experience and to begin planning a weekend action this fall before the elections.

Greenpeace members have blocked roads leading to the test site, and have stumped security forces by entering and camping out on the site for five days. This spring Greenpeace, which started in 1971 as a movement to stop nuclear testing at the Amchitka test site in Alaska, helped organize a cross-country tour to publicize a new group, International Alliance of Atomic Veterans. The tour culminated at the Nevada Test Site with a dramatic Memorial Day ceremony dedicated to servicemen who were exposed to radioactive blasts in military experiments. "It's very likely we'll do a direct action [at the test site] this fall," says Nevada Greenpeace staffer Stephen Rohl, noting that Greenpeace is considering occupying public land near the test site and eventually may try to install a seismic monitor there to keep track of underground testing (if funding is available). Its campaigns to save whales and baby seals have sometimes placed Greenpeace's test-ban efforts on the back burner, but in the past two years the Greenpeace Disarmament Campaign has become one of the organization's top priorities and receives about one third of Greenpeace's total budget, says Eric Fersht.

Meanwhile testing continues at an increasing rate. Seven tests have been announced so far this year. The Department of Energy, which conducts the tests, has requested $638 million for fiscal year '85—up from $388 million in FY '84—for test site operations alone. The total Department of Energy request for testing-related activities is close to $3 billion. These figures have led some activists to concentrate on Congress' budgetary authorization power as a way to stop warhead tests. "We need more than a resolution which says we support a comprehensive test ban treaty," says SANE's David Cortright. "We need a series of legislative steps that will begin to cut off funding." **—Douglas Lavin**

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Notes From Abroad

Japan Protest Grows

• In **Japan**, the anti-Tomahawk movement pulled off its biggest action yet on May 27—a five-mile human chain around Yokosuka, the most important U.S. Navy base in the West Pacific. According to *Japan Press Weekly*, the chain linked 42,000 people and a second chain of 27,000 people stretched for almost four miles at the Maizuru military port. *Japan Press Weekly* estimates that 100,000 people turned out for demonstrations at military bases and communications facilities around the country, protesting deployment of Tomahawk cruise missiles on submarines in the region. On June 17 more than 4000 demonstrators turned out again at Yokosuka when one of those submarines, the *Tunny*, paid a visit.

• **Canadian** peace activists have won a small victory over Litton Systems Canada, the company that builds the (somewhat unreliable) guidance system for cruise missiles. Litton has failed to win the guidance system contract for the new, radar-evading "stealth" model of cruise, and company president Ron Keating blames the peace protesters who have been demonstrating outside his plant for the last four years. "They are an irritant," he said, "they get a lot of publicity, and the Americans read every damn bit of it." The coveted contract has gone to the Kearfott division of the Singer Co., in Little Falls, New Jersey.

Canada's Peace Petition Caravan Campaign to mobilize opposition to nuclear weapons before Canada's general election this summer or fall is well on its way, picking up support from labor, feminist, student, environmental and professional organizations as it goes. More than 85,000 demonstrated in Vancouver to stop the testing of U.S. cruise missiles in Canada and declare the country a nuclear free zone, and there were smaller demonstrations in Toronto, Ottawa, Edmonton and Calgary. The United States, however, is seeking to update its weapons testing agreement with Canada, and will probably test the "stealth" cruise there when it is ready.

• The **Dutch** parliament voted on June 14 to delay the deployment of U.S. cruise missiles in the Netherlands for two years, avoiding a confrontation between the government and the missiles' parliamentary opponents. Deployment is now set for 1988, though it will not take place if the Soviet Union stops deploying SS-20s. During the debate, thousands of antimissile demonstrators gathered outside the parliamentary building, hammering and beating drums. The delay means that the Netherlands will become the first European country to deviate from the deployment schedule, but the decision falls short of peace activists' hopes for a renunciation of the program. Meanwhile, about 6000 opponents of the cruise have joined a tax resistance campaign to withhold money that would be spent on the missiles.

• A conference held in Mannheim, West Germany from May 31 to June 2 brought French and German Socialists and peace activists together to discuss "the way to a European Peace Order." The major stumbling block was the **French** Socialists' commitment to the idea of deterrence and to their country's independent nuclear *"force de frappe."* Nevertheless, the meeting was a useful first stab at drawing the French into discussions about the future of European security.

Japanese link hands against Tomahawk missile near the Yokosuka naval base.

• At its national conference, **West Germany's** Social Democratic Party took a slightly stronger position than before against NATO's nuclear buildup. The party called for withdrawal of Pershing 2 missiles from West Germany and condemned U.S. military policies and intervention in the Third World. The SDP endorsed a no-first-use policy and adopted a measure to limit arms spending, but did not explicitly renounce a conventional buildup to replace nuclear forces.

• The leaders of five non-aligned nations and Prime Minister Papandreou of **Greece** have issued a call to the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France and China to "halt all testing, production and deployment of nuclear arms and their delivery systems" and immediately effect a "substantial reduction in nuclear forces." The non-aligned nations joining the "Four Continent Initiative," which has been endorsed by Pope John Paul II, are Sweden, Mexico, Tanzania, Argentina and India (despite official denials, India is believed to have its own nuclear weapons).

—Maria Margaronis

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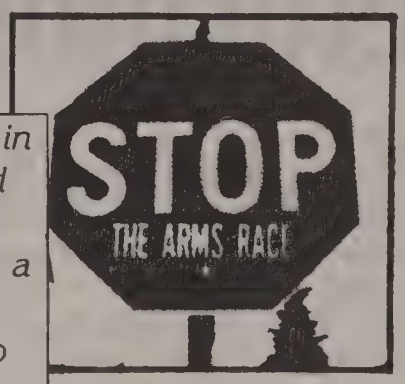

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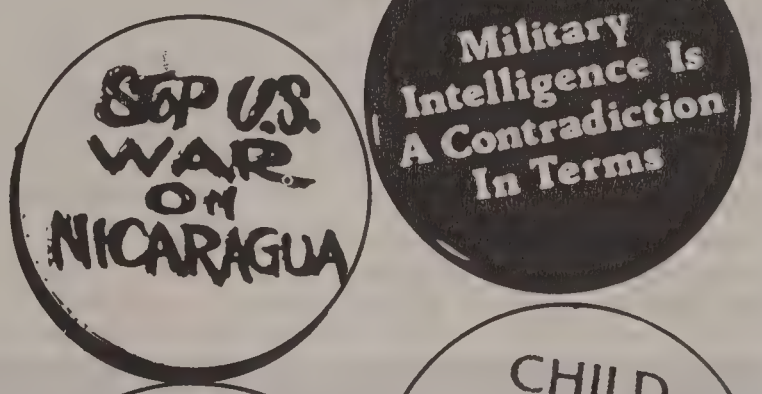

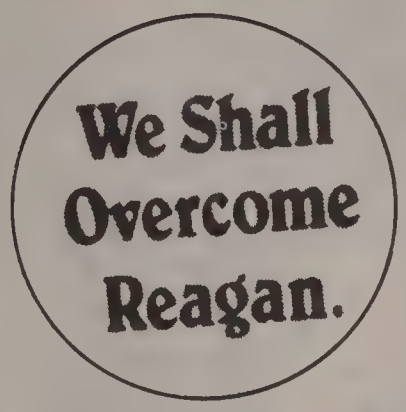

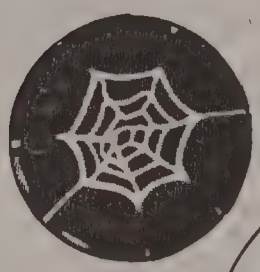

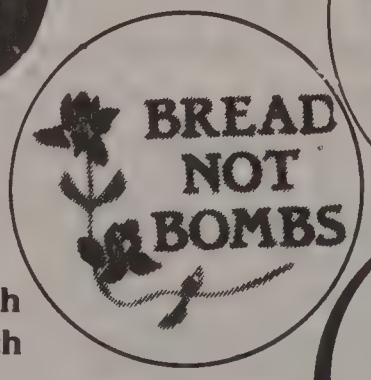

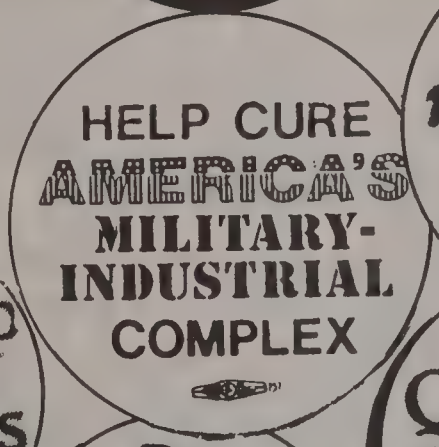

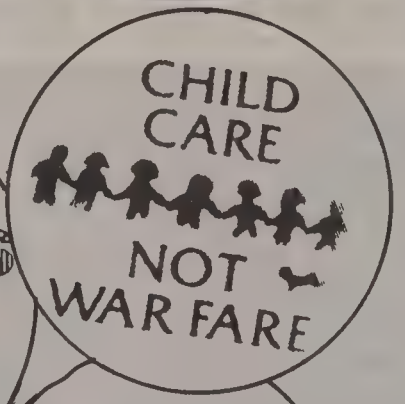

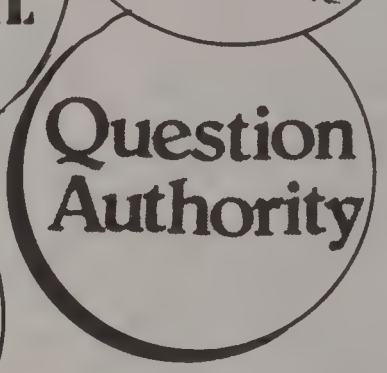

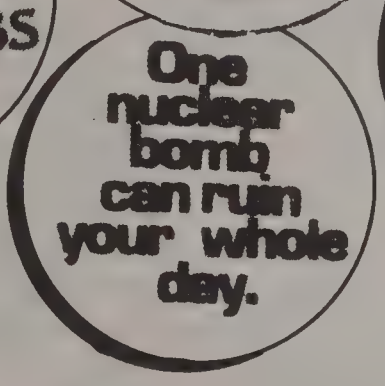

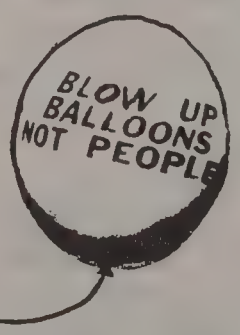

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BY GREG MITCHELL

Returning An Important "Call"

Randy Kehler's urgent "Call for Unity" in our June issue has, as anticipated, produced an outpouring of opinion. Several dozen readers have replied in writing (to NUCLEAR TIMES) and the article directly inspired plans for at least one regional "unity" conference.

In his Forum article, the first in NUCLEAR TIMES' "New Directions" series, Kehler urged that dramatic steps be taken as soon as possible to improve collaboration among groups in the arms control community so that "we can speak to the world as one voice." Kehler, national coordinator of the Freeze Campaign, also asked for a reassessment of the freeze as a focus for activities and suggested that serious discussion of a comprehensive plan for reversing the arms race should take place between now and the November elections.

Last month we published a reply by Richard Healey, director of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy. Healey called for the formation of a national federation (or umbrella organization) to carry out joint decision-making, act as a "United Way" funding organization and strengthen grass-roots groups. Healey also stressed that the freeze movement, to succeed, will have to tackle intervention issues and propose an "alternative" foreign policy.

Because of space limitations we cannot publish the dozens of written responses to Kehler's "Call." This month, however, we will explore some of them. We know that more responses are in the works and we hope that this column will inspire many others. And leaders of several movement groups are holding informal meetings this summer to talk about some of the issues Kehler raised.

Apparently Kehler struck a chord on the collaboration issue; nearly every respondent tackled structural problems, not arms reduction objectives. Larry Langdon of Cottage Grove, Oregon, for example, wrote that the *process* of working on one objective is more important than the objective itself. The majority seem to feel that objectives should be debated only after some sort of unifying body has been formed. The danger of this approach is that any federation that did not agree (at least loosely) on overall goals at the outset would surely be doomed to divisiveness.

This potential for a split on goals is illustrated by the following pair of responses: Sidney Lens of Chicago, a leader of the antiwar movement in the 1960s, called for the Freeze Campaign to educate its members about the arguments for unilateral initiatives and "total disarmament"—while Kenneth Terkelson, a psychiatrist from Mount Vernon, New York, warned that "in the minds of a great mass of citizens, disarmament is perceived as psychologically equivalent to suicide."

Although not everyone favors the

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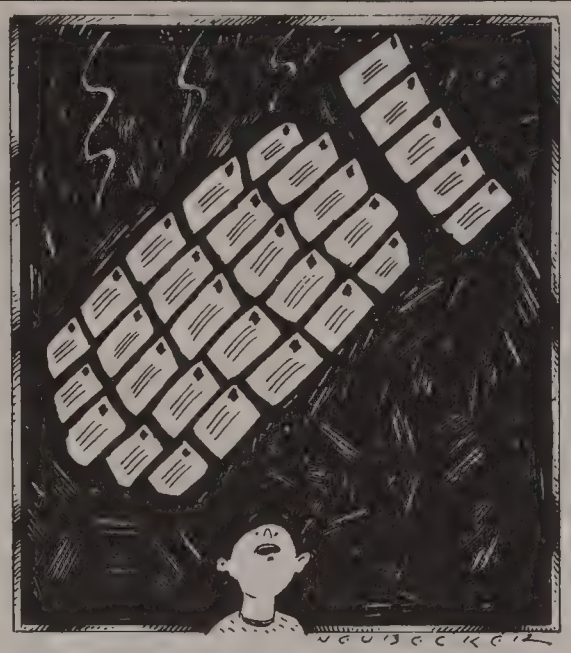
federation approach (*see Letters, page 2*) a majority strongly support some form of national collaboration. The primary reason? Many are frustrated by—even angry about—duplication of effort, particularly in the fund-raising field. "What fortunes go to the printers and the post office!" wrote Dorothy Shields of Dallas, Texas. "I, for one, resent having my name bought and sold. It turns me off." Peggy Guiton of Manhattan added: "We spend a good many man- and woman-hours sending out and taking in each other's laundry."

What can be done? Several agree with Healey's "United Way" approach. One of them, Nancy Myers, director of development for the Illinois Freeze Campaign, admits that "this idea both excites and terrifies me. I know what it's like to work with other organizations when money is concerned." Myers feels that "other forms of cooperation may be easier. I believe that we should recognize the strengths of different organizations and encourage specialization. We could learn from the environmental movement about specialization."

As for how to take the big step toward unity, several readers called for formation of a "representative body" or the convening of a national convention this fall. Tom Atlee of Brookline, Massachusetts, provided a detailed outline for such a gathering, which he calls CAPO—



Congress of American Peace Organizations. The convention, Atlee said, should take place just after the election "so that a national collaborative organization is functioning by inauguration day—providing a major, national peace presence as the new presidential term begins." Atlee noted that local autonomy is important but pointed out that "we doom ourselves if we don't have a national identity with which to deal with national media, national government and national awareness." He even proposed a slogan for the federation: "Think globally, collaborate nationally, act locally."

Others claim that the most effective catalyst for collaboration would be a major demonstration this fall. A more modest move was proposed by John Perkins of Manhattan: different types of groups should exchange delegations, with lobbyists spending time with those who focus on direct action (for example) and civil disobedience advocates making the rounds on Capitol Hill. Will Fudeman of the Pelican Alliance in Point Reyes Station, California, asserted that the movement needs a unifying symbol—a "symbol of life" to counteract the freeze's "cold image, lacking in compassion and soul." And Sidney Lens suggested that relying on citizen protest and nonviolent direct action (instead of the electoral process) would represent "a major step toward achieving our common goals."

But what are those common goals? John Dow (a former congressman) of Americans Against Nuclear War in Albany, New York, observed that activists laying the groundwork for organizational change must address questions such as "how *much* arms reduction do we aim for?" and "is the U.S.S.R. our 'enemy'?" The collaboration drive will not get very far, Dow suggested, "until such conceptual questions are answered so as to guide the 'action' steps."

The discussion continues next month. . . .

Greg Mitchell is editor of NUCLEAR TIMES.

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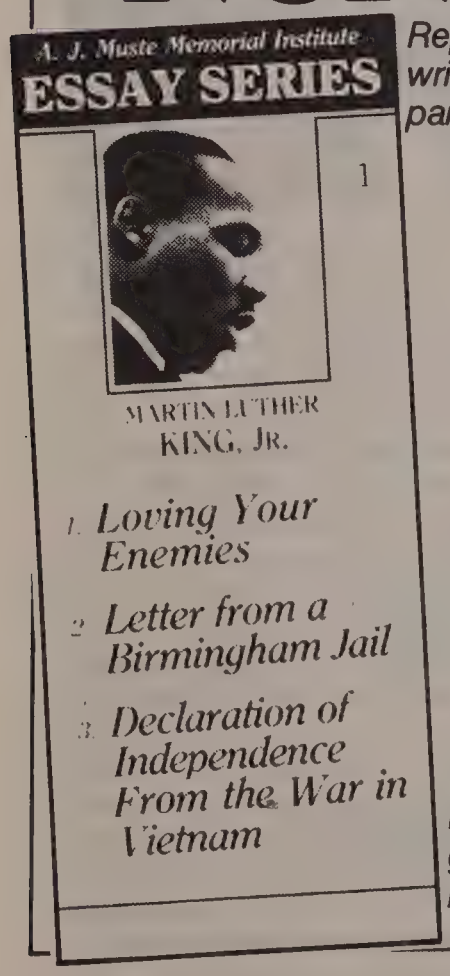
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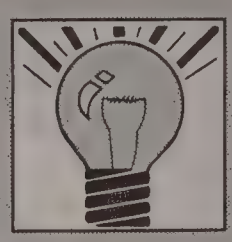

Need a good idea for fund-raising and community outreach? Then take a tip from a growing number of antinuclear organizers around the country: Dance around the issue.

Last year in Seattle, Washington, Greenpeace, Legs Against Arms and Physicians for Social Responsibility raised $63,000 from their dance marathon, a 24-hour event that attracted over 1100 dancers and substantial media coverage. This year's June 16 "Give Peace a Dance" marathon drew 1200 dancers who raised between $70,000 and $80,000 (sponsors of each participant pledge varying amounts of money for every hour danced). Eighteen bands, spanning musical genres from Latin to swing to new wave to gospel, kept the day-long festivities moving.

Planning a dance marathon may be nearly as exhausting as participating in one, but the results are worth it, says organizer Patricia Schwartz. For several months prior to the event, sponsoring groups mail brochures, put up posters, line up entertainment, contact the media and solicit prizes—this year's prizes included a band (retail value $500) for a fund-raiser and hot tubbing immediately after the event. Planners also developed "teams," since most participants choose to be part of a group, dividing responsibility for completing the 24-hour stretch among a number of dancers. Food, trained masseurs, and medical support are available at the dance.

"The marathon idea works because people feel a sense of personal power—it's *them* doing it—and there's a lot of community involvement and attention," says Schwartz. "People who are active in the peace movement get their friends to join or sponsor their team. For a lot of folks who've been sitting on the fence, this offers a first step of concrete involvement in the movement." This year, the mayor's office entered a team. And other politicians, including representatives from presidential campaigns, who wanted to speak at the marathon, entered teams with the promise that the winning group would get seven minutes on the platform after the last waltz to address the crowd.

Finally, the sponsoring groups let the people of Seattle know exactly what happens with the substantial amount of cash raised from the marathon. Legs Against Arms, for example, took their third of last year's proceeds and spent it on antinuclear radio spots focusing on the MX missile and the 1984 campaign.

Other groups are now picking up on the marathon idea; two were recently held in Portland and San Francisco. For more information, contact: Legs Against Arms, PO Box 2409, Seattle, WA 98111.

* * *

If marathons don't strike your fancy, but dancing does, consider the strategy of the Ohio Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. Its May 19 event in Columbus—also called Give Peace a Dance—drew 1200 people, raised $10,000, and was hosted by Ohio's governor, Richard Celeste, and his wife Dagmar. Most people were home and in bed shortly after 1 AM.

"The whole thing came about because Dagmar wanted to get involved with the Freeze Campaign," says Pat Jones, the group's vice-president. Naturally, freeze members jumped at the chance, and in December began working with the governor's office on invitations and posters. Seven professional artists donated four days to decorate the dance hall with large facsimilies of misshapen missiles, a fallout shelter emblazoned with the word "obsolete," and other symbols of halting the arms race, says Sarah Kirschenbaum, the campaign's state coordinator. And over 200 area artists sent in work for an auction held at the dance that brought in $4000 (the proceeds were split between the artists and the freeze campaign). Tickets for the dance were $12.50.

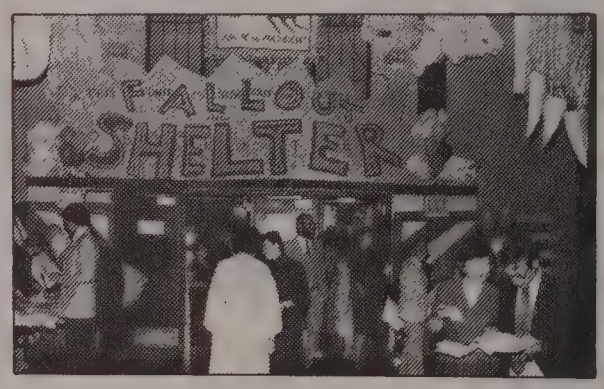

PHOTO BY ALLEN ZAX

"This event was about more than raising money, although we were successful with that," says Pat Jones. "We got a lot of local coverage [the dance was also covered by *USA Today*] and we made all kinds of new connections with the governor's office and with the community. We also got new members from this."

Although no firm plans have been made, "people from the governor's office suggested many times that night that they were interested in a repeat event," says Kirschenbaum. And Jones advises other groups in states with sympathetic governors (and other public officials) to try the idea. For organizing tips, contact Jones at the Ohio Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 640 South Ohio Avenue, Columbus, OH 43205 (614) 253--7867.

—Renata Rizzo

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Post-conventions outlook

Autumn Plans Fall Into Place

The convention season is in full swing, but groups in the antinuclear community are keeping one eye firmly on the fall campaign. They are stepping up campaign activities on many fronts, from voter registration and education drives to assisting candidates on the local, state and national levels.

While most groups, because of their tax status, cannot endorse candidates, they will still take their antinuclear message to voters this fall. Eric Fersht, disarmament director of Greenpeace, reports that members of his group will "bird-dog" the presidential candidates on the issue of a comprehensive test ban, and adds that sometime before the November elections the group hopes to stage a "politically effective" event around the issue, possibly at the Nevada Test Site. Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) will concentrate on voter education, says executive director Jane Wales, and is offering to candidates briefing books and other resources on antinuclear issues, particularly on the "Star Wars" and civil defense programs. A network of groups in New York City is planning a massive get-out-the-vote effort, involving a dizzying amount of doorbell ringing in November. Even the War Resisters League, a group not generally associated with electoral involvement, is encouraging its members to register to vote this year. "Most of us will be voting for the Democratic candidate [for president]," says the League's David McReynolds. "This is not a year for independent races on the national level."

Freeze Voter '84, one of the few antinuclear groups that can endorse a presidential candidate, plans to do so—"enthusiastically"—after the Democratic convention, says Chip Reynolds, the group's field director. "It looks like the nominee will be Walter Mondale," Reynolds said in June, "and one of the biggest problems we'll be facing is the absolute myth that Mondale can't beat Ronald Reagan. All the numbers—the increased registration of minorities and women, the support of labor and the swing votes—show that he can. I'm not saying we don't have a huge task ahead of us, I'm just saying that we *do* have the opportunity to win." (NUCLEAR TIMES does not endorse any candidate.)

Working independently of the Mondale campaign, Freeze Voter will concentrate on the 10 states where Reagan won in 1980 with less than 50 percent of the vote, expanding its door-to-door canvassing and phone banks, mobilizing volunteers, and taking advantage of the free media opportunities that arise when candidates make personal appearances.

Schroeder: Running with Women's Trust

After the convention, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) PAC will also endorse the "best candidate on the antinuclear issues," says field director Nancy Donaldson, "and that obviously will be the Democratic nominee." The group may mount an advertising campaign for the candidate, possibly featuring Helen Caldicott. "And we'll probably work with the Mondale campaign in areas where we have a lot of members," Donaldson says. Like Freeze Voter, WAND PAC will be focusing its efforts on the key states where a small percentage of votes decided the presidential race in 1980.

Friends of the Earth PAC endorsed Mondale early—last February. But two other groups—SANE PAC and Council for a Livable World—haven't yet made decisions about endorsing a candidate. "Early on, we had a debate about it," says Mike Mawby, SANE PAC's director. "We finally just went the anti-Reagan route." The group is planning to mail fliers on the president's arms control stands to half a million Americans. SANE PAC will decide in September whether to endorse the Democratic nominee, Mawby says. "If I were pressed, I would urge the organization to endorse Mondale," he adds. "It would let us more directly tell people to put aside their reservations and work for him wholeheartedly. And Mondale would be more accountable to *us*—it'd be easier to get on the phone with his people and press our views."

The Council has also put off an endorsement, says John Isaacs, the group's director, "mainly because we've never done it before. But this is the most important arms control election year ever." If the group does decide to endorse, it would be a symbolic gesture. "We wouldn't spend any money," Isaacs says. Most of the group's resources are going into approximately 15 Senate and 40 House races.

David Cohen, president of the Professionals' Coalition, a recently formed lobbying group in Washington, D.C., has personally endorsed Mondale, but he wonders how useful his group's endorsement would be. "I just don't think it would make a difference this year," he says. "It would only be on paper, *pro forma*. The only way we can make a difference is by offering crisp analyses of the issues—that's where our loyalty must lie. We are going after sustained activity and sustained involvement." The Coalition plans to send all its members profiles of congressional candidates.

Representative Patricia Schroeder and Paul Newman act as co-chairs of the Gender Gap Action Campaign, a project of The Women's Trust. This new PAC was formed to support women candidates but will concentrate this year on women's issues, according to the Campaign's field director, Claire Greensfelder. It plans to keep the so-called gender gap issues—war and peace, equal rights, abortion and economic justice—alive by staging media events in states where President Reagan is vulnerable. In June, the PAC's kick-off event, a run and rally dubbed "Women Running Against Reagan," was widely covered by the media. The PAC is con-

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sidering duplicating that event in other cities, and will probably set up speaking tours with women peace leaders such as freeze author Randall Forsberg. It will also be working closely with local chapters of women's groups on voter registration and other election activities. "I moved from San Francisco to Washington, D.C., for this election work," says a homesick Greensfelder. "We have to generate the enthusiasm needed to convince people that Ronald Reagan can be beaten. I don't think the Mondale campaign has done that yet."

A poll of some local activists bears out Greensfelder's analysis. "There's enormous sentiment here for *any*one but Reagan," says Mary Shepard with Women Against Military Madness in Minnesota. "But there's very little enthusiasm for Mondale—we'll have to get the antinuclear vote out, not the pro-Mondale," Shepard explains.

"I don't know anyone who likes Mondale, but that doesn't mean they won't vote for him against Reagan," says Don Gardner with the Austin, Texas, Peace and Justice Coalition. Gardner feels Mondale lacks commitment to complete nuclear disarmament and notes his refusal to drastically reduce the military budget. "It's just hard to get motivated to work for the man," he adds.

But Mondale does have a sizable number of fans in the antinuclear community, especially in the nation's capital. Jane Wales, along with several other members of Washington, D.C.'s Peace Roundtable, endorsed Mondale after talking with the candidate in January. "He doesn't come over as well on TV as he does in small meetings," says Karen Mulhauser, executive director of Citizen's Against Nuclear War. (CAN itself does not endorse candidates.) "I liked what he said. He's got experience. He can win."

Maybe nationally, but not in New Hampshire, says Arnie Alpert, program coordinator with the American Friends Service Committee in Concord. "The presidential race is not particularly important here," Alpert says, adding that area groups will concentrate instead on two key congressional races. "There's probably a nine-to-one chance that Reagan will win here. He won by more than two-to-one in 1980. There's no way we could turn that around unless some major political development happened—like the United States invading Canada."

But in Maine, where Reagan eked out a victory in 1980, Betsy Sweet with Freeze Voter claims that her group's efforts could turn the state around. "We'll be selling the freeze more than Mondale," she says. "It's really as if the *freeze* were the candidate." **—Renata Rizzo**

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A delegate previews GOP convention

Republicans Ice Freeze

No public debate in Dallas. No public discussion. That was the message that emerged loud and clear from the organizational meeting of the Pennsylvania delegation to the Republican National Convention, which I attended June 8.

Held on the floor of the House of Representatives in Harrisburg, the gathering provided a preview of the Dallas convention, which opens August 20. It was highly orchestrated, tightly controlled, streamlined to sidestep conflict—a public relations exercise. Naturally, as a delegate elected in the state's April 10 Republican primary on a pro-freeze platform, I was disappointed, though not surprised, to find that even a modest backstage bid by moderate Senator John Heinz for a place on the platform committee had been beaten back by party leaders before we arrived, eliminating any opportunity to support moderate Republican policies.

One would expect at least a handful of arms control advocates within the traditionally moderate Pennsylvania delegation. But, clearly, they are few in number and lying low. This year's group, after all, has not been shaped to reflect Republican sentiment across the state—which does express support for the freeze—but to please the president.

Potential freeze support at the convention has been further reduced by the decision of a number of moderate Republican officeholders—not just in Pennsylvania—to skip the gathering altogether, according to the office of Representative Jim Leach of Iowa. A freeze advocate, Leach will be leading the fight in Dallas for such traditional Republican concerns as the Equal Rights Amendment, environmental protection, fiscal sanity and, of course, arms control. National groups supportive of these positions are busy polling each state delegation to unearth potential allies for the congressman. But whatever the success of the Leach effort, it is unlikely to usher forth a presidential alternative to Reagan, who will be renominated by acclamation, if the charade at Harrisburg is any guide.

There, in something less than half an hour, a series of Pennsylvania party officials and officeholders were nominated by the state chairman, Robert Asher, for spots on the rules, platform and credentials committees, and gaveled in without comment by Governor Richard Thornburgh. Even those nominated to serve on the platform committee were not asked or required to express their views to us. A number of the delegates had traveled five or six hours to attend this meeting. But apparently all that was required of them was rubber-stamp ratification.

Those irked to have served as scenery were assured that, in Dallas, the delegation would gather behind closed doors for the express purpose of venting grievances and airing contending views. This was discouraged at the Harrisburg meeting, these delegates were told, because the press was present. The president's cause might be damaged by the unseemly spectacle of the people's representatives debating issues the voters cared about. So dissent will be permitted at Dallas only out of the earshot of the press, which is the enemy, or such is the prevailing view of those running things.

The delegates I talked to found this reasonable. They are not ideologues. Party leaders have used this year's uncontested convention to reward generous contributors and faithful party functionaries with delegation spots. For the most part, then, this year's delegates are entrepreneurs, real estate developers and other business people, on the one hand, and local party bigwigs on the other, joined in the common cause of Republican victory. To the donors, victory means less regulation, a business climate levered toward maximized profits, lowered taxes, larger dividends. To the party people, it means power and perks. To both, in the end, it means money. Arms control, the nuclear arms race itself, the military budget—there

ILLUSTRATION BY TOM BLOOM

may be some differences among delegates on how to deal with them, but these are to be subordinated to the primary task at hand, assuring a second Reagan term. I couldn't find a single delegate who believed a Reagan candidacy would profit from an open convention in which the president's positions triumphed. Everyone preferred a rite of total unity.

Republicans will start arguing the arms question, however, the day they believe military budgets and missile costs threaten their political base or their quarterly profits. In this, there is a message for the freeze movement. To win the hearts and minds of most Republicans, freeze advocates must talk economics, rather than morality. The Caldicott catastrophist approach falls on deaf ears within the GOP and its constituencies who see the Soviet threat as greater than the nuclear threat. By instinct hierarchical, they are as happy to let the leadership run the Cold War as they are to let it choose the officers of state delegations. So the burden falls upon the freeze movement to dramatize the dangers of "peace through strength" to the nation's financial well-being. This means hammering at the ties between the arms race and the deficits, between research money diverted to missiles and our eroding position in the competitive world markets, between billions flowing to high-tech weaponry and the deterioration of our industrial base.

As a freeze delegate representing a moderate Republican constituency I plan to take this argument to the convention. If the Pennsylvania experience is any guide—and there's no reason to believe it isn't—I will be prohibited from expressing this view on the convention floor. With environmentalists, advocates of women's rights and other minority groups in Dallas, the few freeze delegates such as myself will be forced from the hall and onto the streets, to get our message heard (*see page 26*).

We will have no choice but to do what Ronald Reagan has done so skillfully—take our case to the media whose thousands of representatives will be hungry for the debate and discussion our party's leaders seem so eager to shut down. My guess is that there will be two conventions at Dallas—one orchestrated inside the hall and one unorchestrated outside the hall, one talking peace through strength, the other talking freeze.

—Paul D. Zimmerman

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The primaries' message

Early Returns Are Mixed

Several months ago, when the anti-nuclear movement began to move into electoral-related activities, there was much hoopla about throwing-the-rascals-out and forging a pro-arms control Congress. How has it gone? What do the early returns portend for November?

The true test may be months away, but tangible signs of how the movement is doing can be found by analyzing House and Senate primary results this spring. But first, a caveat: primary results cannot necessarily be extrapolated to general elections.

The early returns are mixed. In the win column are several movement-backed candidates, such as Lloyd Doggett and Representative Paul Simon, who won Democratic Senate nominations, and Jane Wells-Schooley, a former executive of the National Organization for Women, who picked up a primary victory and now takes on Representative Donald Ritter in Pennsylvania. Losses include several candidates who ran for Democratic nominations for House seats, such as Representative Katie Hall, Ken Spaulding and Susan Green.

Hall, the first black women ever elected to Congress from Indiana, was defeated by Peter Visclosky, a white attorney. She received support from SANE PAC. Spaulding, a black lawyer, lost a squeaker in North Carolina to the incumbent, Representative Tim Valentine. Freeze Voter '84 targeted that race and provided a field organizer. And Green, a North Carolina county commissioner, was beaten by D.G. Martin, a lawyer. Green received assistance from a local coalition of peace activists, SANE and the Council for a Livable World's Peace PAC affiliate. (Now SANE PAC and local peace activists are supporting Martin in his race against Alex McMillan for the open House seat.)

In none of these three races did the issue of arms control play a prominent role in the contest, though strong arms control candidates were running. Hall's race, for example, was dominated by racial politics. Despite all the movement enthusiasm, the peace issue has not yet taken hold as the cutting issue in many congressional campaigns. "It is difficult to make foreign policy *the* issue in a congressional district," explains Mike Mawby, director of SANE PAC. "Representatives are usually judged on what are seen to be local issues."

Can arms control be made a top priority item in a congressional race? Those activists coordinating antinuclear PACs suggest that this is easier to do in a presidential or Senate race. Simon, for instance, in his primary battle emphasized the freeze and received a great amount of assistance from Illinois Freeze Voter '84. Bob Stein, director of the group, says that exit polls placed the freeze as one of the top four issues of concern to voters. After the primary, Simon attributed his victory, in part, to the efforts of Freeze Voter '84.

The Democratic senatorial primary in Texas illustrates that the issue does not have to be prominent in order for the movement to make a difference. "Landslide" Lloyd Doggett, a progressive state senator and a movement favorite, made it into the run-off for the Democratic nomination by placing just 1000 votes ahead of the third-place finisher. Then he won the runoff against Representative Kent Hance, a conservative, by only 1300

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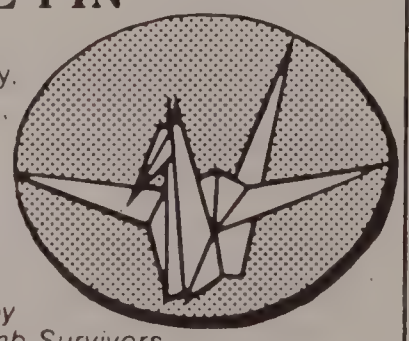

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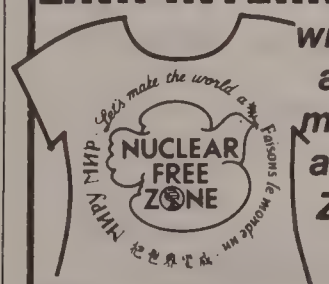

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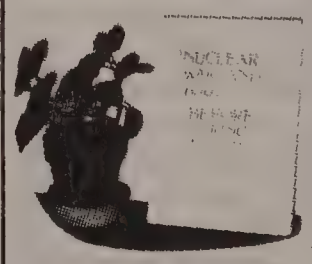

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votes. In a race as close as this, it's easy for any participant to take credit. But the movement does deserve its share, along with the environmental, minority, labor and teachers' organizations that all worked for Doggett. The Council for a Livable World raised over $62,000 for Doggett. SANE PAC gave him $2000.

Freeze Voter '84 campaigned hard for Doggett. In late April, the national office sent field organizer Jeff Schwartz, formerly an operative with the Alan Cranston campaign and a self-proclaimed "political hammer" ("I pound organizations into shape"), to Texas. Schwartz, three other state organizers and the local Texas Freeze Voter '84 set up 15 phone banks across the Lone Star state. Prior to the May 5 primary, the state operation identified over 7000 freeze/Doggett supporters, who were then contacted immediately before the election. In Austin, according to organizer Tony Switzer, Freeze Voter '84 distributed over 10,000 door hangers bearing the message, "Freeze the arms race. Vote for Doggett."

The Freeze Voter '84 effort continued during the run-off campaign. (The most prominent campaign issue was amnesty for illegal aliens.) The week before the June 2 run-off, Freeze Voter '84 in Houston had over 70 volunteers making phone calls each night. According to Schwartz, they reached 11,100 "ones." A "one," in political parlance, signified a freeze supporter who will vote for Doggett. Schwartz estimates that more 15,000 "ones" were contacted in other parts of the state.

Throughout most of Texas, Schwartz reports, there was good cooperation between the Doggett campaign and Freeze Voter '84. But a conflict did spring up in the Houston area. "Many in the Doggett campaign think Houston is a red-neck area," Schwartz maintains, "and we were told not to highlight the freeze *and* Doggett." After some screaming and raging, he says, a compromise was reached. In its get-out-the-vote effort in Houston, Freeze Voter '84 first called over 7000 freeze voters using lists it had compiled and made a *freeze* pitch for Doggett. After exhausting its own list, its phone bank contacted names on a Doggett campaign list and used a more general pitch to turn out supporters.

"The Doggett campaign in Houston didn't realize how strong the freeze is," Schwartz says. "After the vote came in, everything was love and kisses." A Doggett campaign aide in Austin notes that Freeze Voter '84 brought "enthusiasm and a lot of volunteers to the campaign" statewide. And Switzer adds, "Even though arms control was not overtly a major issue, we still possibly had a decisive hand. In this campaign everyone's action was decisive."

Freeze Voter rides trail for Doggett

Is the Doggett race a model for the movement? The freeze will not be the "top priority of debate in every race," says Chip Reynolds of national Freeze Voter '84. But, as Reynolds maintains, the Doggett-Hance contest—a close race in a state where the movement was well

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organized—illustrates the potential to make a difference.

So what can be expected in November? Mike Mawby observes that the movement's "measure of success has been cut back a bit." But he adds, "We have yet to see the role of this issue in the presidential campaign. That could be where it takes." Indeed, during the Democratic primaries, each candidate attempted to stake out arms control and freeze turf, in bids to garner the support of the antinuclear/peace movement. And President Reagan has recently been moderating his anti-Soviet rhetoric.

Chances are there won't be a massive overhaul in Congress due to the movement. David Cortright, executive director of SANE, feels that the movement has a "long way to go to exerting clout." He points to one race where the SANE PAC-backed candidate lost by 7000 votes. "We maybe added 2000 votes to his total," Cortright notes. "Even if we doubled or tripled that number, it would not have made the difference." But John Isaacs of the Council for a Livable World observes: "If we can have an impact on a few key races, that will be a victory. A couple of visible races where the issue has an effect can play a large role in shaping popular perception." **—David Corn**

Summer vocation for activists

Hard Corps Support For Freeze

Perhaps you think idealism went out with Earth Shoes. Then consider the Freeze Corps, a new Freeze Voter '84 project which is placing volunteers in local offices working on congressional races. The project had a somewhat late start—"we were recruiting during college finals," says director Paul Nofer, who was hired in April. It also had almost no advertising budget, relying instead on a network of newsletters, conferences, and colleges. Yet as of mid-June, Freeze Corps had accepted 57 volunteers and had 30 applications pending.

The result, says Nofer, is that Freeze Voter has "effectively doubled its full-time staff working in the field this summer." He hopes that this year's success will make stronger recruitments possible in 1986 and 1988.

Freeze Corps applicants submit an essay and two references, and are interviewed by phone. Asked to volunteer for at least a month (the average commitment is 10 weeks), they are offered room, board and travel expenses. The money, about $450 a volunteer, is supplied by national and local Freeze Voter offices. Volunteers, who are placed in one of 16 targeted states where Freeze Voter has already endorsed—or plans to endorse—a candidate, are then put to work organizing canvasses, recruiting volunteers, setting up phone banks, and arranging some of the 2000 fund-raising house parties Freeze Voter hopes to hold at the end of July across the country. (The Corps is still looking for volunteers for the fall, when it hopes to expand its field operations.)

Nofer describes his volunteers as "people with the energy to move where they're most needed." Not surprisingly, a majority are either students or still young enough to consider $30 a week a reasonable stipend. But Freeze Corps ranks also include veteran activists who seek a working vacation.

There's Joan Thomson of Pueblo, Colorado, for example, who claims to have joined "every peace group since 1937." She spent four years in the Fiji Islands as

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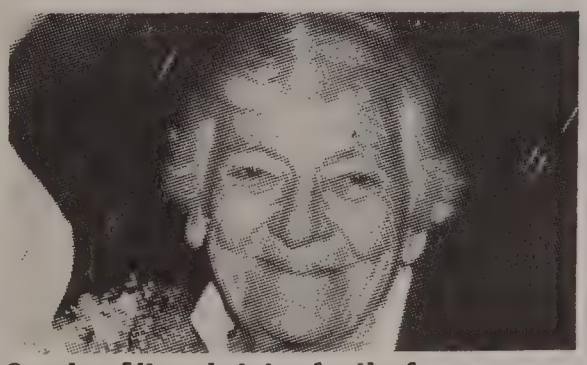
a member of the Peace Corps, "and I might join again," says the 71-year-old widow, who has offered to spend five weeks with Freeze Corps. "But I couldn't imagine not being here [with Freeze Corps] this summer," Thomson explains.

"My legs are pretty well gone, but I can do all sorts of sedentary things," says Elizabeth Man Sarcka, who in 1926 was executive secretary of the Greater New York branch of the League of Nations Association. This 91-year-old resident of Queens, New York, is spending her Freeze Corps stint in Maine. "I thought," she explains, "that it would be fun to try my hand in another state."

A resident of Lafayette, Indiana, Peggy Mackenzie has spent 15 years involved in a variety of social causes, from community health to combatting violence against women. "But I chose the freeze as the most politically potent issue to work on this summer," says Mackenzie, who has offered the Freeze Corps a month this summer, when her two children will be away. "Helping a good Senate candidate just seems like the best thing to do now." Mackenzie is one of the few volunteers who hopes to stay in her hometown, saying that people there, because of their "insulation," need to be educated. "This is a community people should be *sent* to, not leave," Mackenzie says.

As a member of the younger generation of Freeze Corps volunteers, Patricia Mahoney is one of several workers who trace the decision to volunteer to a college course about nuclear issues. A recent graduate of Southeastern Massachusetts University, Mahoney is now at work organizing monthly canvasses in Pennsylvania's 15th Congressional District, where Jane Wells-Schooley is challenging Representative Don Ritter. Another student, Bruce Penland, went from Virginia to Augusta, Maine, and a hot Senate contest. Penland is now living with a Common Cause intern and his savings are "down to about $50." But, he adds, "the freeze has a good chance of being the determining issue up here."



Sarcka: Altered states for the freeze

For both of these young volunteers, Freeze Corps is a chance to gain skills they hope to use when they get home—Penland to "very conservative" Ferrum College, and Mahoney to a Freeze office in her hometown of Fairhaven, Massachusetts. For Joan Myers, it's an opportunity to ply her political skills in a new environment. A graduate student and activist at the State University of New York at New Paltz, Myers and her boyfriend have volunteered to spend two months in Oregon, in what promises to be a welcome change of scene. "You can get too caught up in the politics of the college campus," Myers says. "I'd like to get back in touch with people struggling to make ends meet."

Mahoney: Post-graduate work

Janet Moomaw has also forsaken the college campus. A recent graduate of Aquinas College in Michigan, Moomaw was working at the college and had planned to stay through August. Instead, she is working for six months as a Freeze Corps volunteer in Bloomington, Indiana. Moomaw's parents are "having a hard time" with the decision. "My mother likes volunteer work," says Moomaw, "but I think she'd rather I did it in a hospital." Her supervisor in Bloomington, though, is delighted with the match. "It turns out they really want someone who could do bookkeeping and get the bugs out of their new computer," says Moomaw, who holds a double degree in computers and business administration. "I know I'm needed here."

For Frank and Joanne Bellizzi, the Freeze Corps may even be the start of a new life. The Massachusetts couple had grown increasingly concerned about the arms race over the last few years, and decided to volunteer five months of their time to the Freeze Corps, traveling by camper through five states. "People keep asking if we won the lottery," says Frank Bellizzi, a former stockbroker and real estate consultant who attended college on a ROTC scholarship. In fact, the couple sold furniture and other possessions to finance their odyssey, with the hope that the experience, contacts and insights they gain will direct them to new careers as activists. "I'm really not positive what we'll be doing a year from now," says Frank. "I just know I want to work for peace. And the freeze is the linchpin issue."

—Cathy Cevoli

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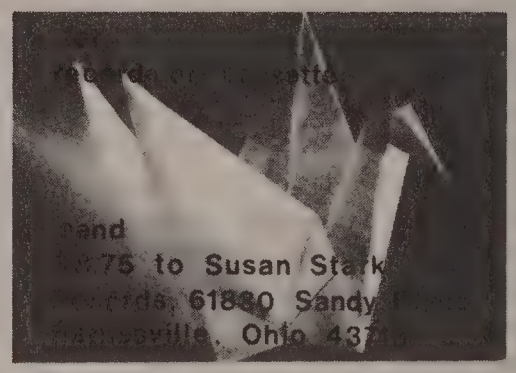

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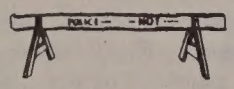

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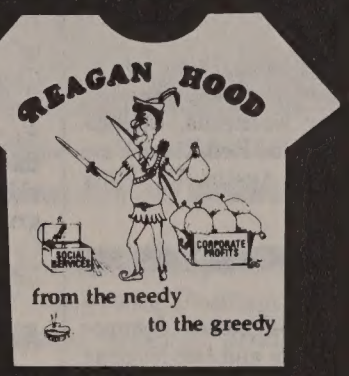

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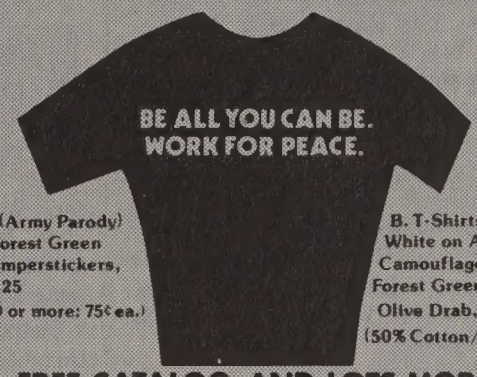

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Calendar

A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast. Please submit events as soon as they are scheduled. September events due by July 30.

NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

PEACE & JUSTICE SUMMER

Through **August 31**, a non-partisan voter education project, enlisting student volunteers, will take place in **Atlanta**, **Austin**, **Boston**, **Los Angeles**, **Milwaukee**, **Philadelphia** and **San Francisco**. For more information, *contact*: Peace & Justice Summer National Clearinghouse, 2161 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02140 (617) 864-6124.

HOUSE PARTIES

On **July 29**, 100 days before the national elections, Freeze Voter '84 will hold 2000 "countdown" house parties to help recruit volunteers and raise funds. If you would like to host a party, contact your local Freeze office or Richard Zeichik, Freeze Voter '84, 2000 K St NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 822-0661.

HIROSHIMA/NAGASAKI OBSERVANCES

August 6 and **9** mark the 39th anniversaries of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Groups across the country will be participating in vigils, rallies, civil disobedience and other forms of commemoration. To find out about activities in your area, call local peace organizations or the national office of the Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway, Rm 2109, New York, NY 10003 (212) 533-0008.

JULY 18

CALIFORNIA

• **Santa Clara** 1984 National Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), with workshops, children's program, music and folk dancing, variety show, auction and religious services, and featuring Dr. Joseph Lowery, Randall Forsberg and others; University of Santa Clara. *Contact*: FOR, 2718 Forbes Av, Santa Clara, CA 95051 (408) 244-5796.

JULY 19

INDIANA

• **West Lafayette** Church Women United (CWU) Ecumenical Assembly, "Come. Build A New Earth: Pieces to Peace;" Purdue University, **through July 23**. *Contact*: CWU, 475 Riverside Dr, Rm 827, New York, NY 10115 (212) 870-2348.

JULY 20

CALIFORNIA

• **Bay Area** The San Francisco Mime Troupe's original summer show, *1985*, looks at the world of tomorrow as if President Reagan were reelected. Free performances can be seen in Bay Area parks **through September 3**. For complete itinerary, *contact*: The San Francisco Mime Troupe, 855 Treat St, San Francisco, CA 94110 (415) 285-1717.

JULY 21

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Somerville** Literary reading sponsored by New England Writers for Survival. *Contact*: The Open Air Theater, 27 Village St, Somerville, MA 02143 (617) 625-1451.

MONTANA

• **Glacier Park** "Hands Across the Border," International gathering at the Glacier/Waterton International Peace Park, with peace camp, speakers, music and more, **through July 22**. *Contact*: Bill Stewart, Glacier Peace Alliance, PO Box 167, East Glacier, Mt 59434 (406) 226-4412.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Statewide** Freeze Voter '84 walkathons to help raise funds for the project. *Contact*: New Hampshire Freeze Voter '84, PO Box 1556, Concord, NH 03301 (603) 228-0559.

JULY 22

REGIONAL

• Peace pilgrimage to the Pantex plant in Amarillo, Texas, the final assembly point for nuclear warheads, **through August 6**. *Contact*: The Red River Network, 1022 W 6 St, Austin, TX 78703 (512) 474-2399.

JULY 27

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Provincetown** Mid-Summer Symposium, Psychotherapy and the Nuclear Threat, with Robert Jay Lifton, Eric Chivian, Setsuko Thurlow, and others, featuring lecture-discussions, workshops and more; Provincetown Inn, **through July 29**. *Contact*: Physicians for Social Responsibility, 225 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012, (212) 226-6767.

JULY 28

MAINE

• **Augusta** Conference, "Instituting Peace," with Ivan Illich. *Contact*: Common Cause, 335 Water St, Augusta, ME 04330 (207) 622-5798.

NEW YORK

• **Romulus** "Feminism, Militarism, Patriarchy and Strategies for Change," with workshops and more; Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice, **through July 29**. Workshops on nonviolence theory and civil disobedience preparation, and cruise and Pershing 2 missiles will be offered every Monday and Friday throughout the summer. *Contact*: Women's Encampment, 5440 Route 96, Romulus, NY 14541 (607) 869-5825.

AUGUST 3

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Conway** "Mental Health in the Nuclear Age," featuring a discussion on "Growing Up Under the Mushroom Cloud," a slideshow on Hiroshima, a report on the national conference on Economic Conversion, and much more; **through August 9**. For more information on other nuclear-related programs, *contact*: The World Fellowship Center, Conway, NH 03818 (603) 356-5208.

AUGUST 4

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Legs vs Arms Races, featuring 5 K and 10 K races, plus a 1-mile fun-run for children and a wheelchair race. *Contact*: Friends for a Nonviolent World, 1925 Nicollett Av, Ste 101, Minneapolis, MN 55403 (612) 870-1501.

AUGUST 5

CALIFORNIA

• **Los Angeles** Survivalfest '84, a two-week cultural festival dedicated to peace, non-intervention and social justice will culminate in a mass international march and rally; MacArthur Park. For more information about events preceeding the rally, contact: '84 Mobilization for Peace and Justice, 620 Olympic Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90015 (213) 746-5028.

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Statewide** Peace Day, featuring a variety of community activities from fairs to bake sales to rallies. *Contact*: Betty Klauber, The Community Empowerment Program, 21 Garden Rd, Newton, MA 02158 (617) 244-6776.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Discussion with Herbert Sussan, whose film footage of the aftermath of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were supressed by the U.S. government; Tower Lounge, Riverside Church. *Contact*: Donna Bartell, Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Dr, NY, NY 10027 (212) 222-5900.

SOUTH DAKOTA

• **Rapid City** "Nonviolence in Education and Action: A National Networking Conference," with workshops, seminars, nonviolence training, field trips, entertainment, and more; the central gathering site will be a 2000-acre ranch recently declared a nuclear free zone and adjacent to Ellsworth Air Force Base, **through August 9**. *Contact*: National Conference on Nonviolence, 802 11 Av, Brookings, SD 57006.

AUGUST 6

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Jaffrey** Four-day vigil at the top of Mt. Monadnock to commemorate the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; **through August 9**. *Contact*: Jim Kates, 45 Old Peterborough Rd, Jaffrey, NH 03452 (603) 532-6176.

NEW YORK

• **Nyack** International Work/Study Camp; participants will study nonviolence and work on a variety of maintenance projects; Shadowcliff, **through August 18**. *Contact*: The Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960 (914) 358-4601.

OHIO

• **Fairborn** Hiroshima Day Vigil to protest the arms race; Gate 1-C, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. *Contact*: Larry Gara, 21 Faculty Place, Wilmington, OH 45177 (513) 382-3569.

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Encirclement of the Sperry plant. *Contact*: Minnesota Women's Camp for Peace and Justice, 2344 Aldrich Av S, Minneapolis, MN 55409.

AUGUST 11

NEBRASKA

• **Scottsbluff** Third Annual Missile Silo Walk, from Wildcat Hill State Park to missile silo C-2, featuring picnic, music, speakers, games and more. *Contact*: Jeff Tracey, Nebraskans Opposed to the MX, PO Box 125, Scottsbluff, NE 69361 (308) 635-7768.

AUGUST 18

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Northfield** Third Annual meeting of STOP Nuclear War (Student/Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War) with workshops, films, plenary sessions and more; Northfield Mount Herman School, **through August 19**. *Contact*: STOP Nuclear War, 636 Beacon St, Boston, MA 02115.

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION ACTIVITIES

Events centered around the Republican National Convention (August 20–23) include:

THE TENT CITY (AUGUST 18-23).

Thousands of the "victims of Reaganomics" are expected to pitch their tents at the Trinity River Greenbelt in Dallas. That evening, a rally for peace and freedom, **"Out the Door in '84,"** featuring Dr. Benjamin Spock and others, will be held at the John F. Kennedy Memorial Plaza. Contact: The Dallas March and Rally Committee, 1507-A Ervay St, Dallas, TX 75215 (214) 421-1984.

INTERFAITH RELIGIOUS SERVICE (AUGUST 19)

Tentatively titled "Litany of Outrage," this service will feature the Peace and Justice Choir. The Reverend Jesse Jackson may be on hand. **A voter registration drive** in low income neighborhoods will follow the service. *Contact*: ACORN, 4415 San Jacinto, Dallas, TX 75204 (214) 823-4580.

MARCH ON THE CONVENTION (AUGUST 20).

A march and rally at the official opening of the Republican convention; rally to be held opposite the Dallas Convention Center. *Contact*: The Dallas March and Rally Committee, see address above.

ROCK AGAINST REAGAN (AUGUST 21)

Concert opposite the Dallas Convention Center. *Contact*: The Dallas March and Rally Committee, see address above. For more information about these and other convention activities, contact the Dallas March and Rally Committee or ACORN.

Compiled by Renata Rizzo

Thanks to everyone who mailed in events

ANN MARIE CUNNINGHAM

Resources

NEW BOOKS

Conscience Place, by Joyce Thompson (Doubleday hardcover, $13.95) is a fast-paced, poignant novel that will send chills down the spine on the hottest summer day. The setting is The Place, established (according to this fiction) by President Kennedy as a shelter for babies with genetic mutations born to parents, mostly nuclear workers, who had been exposed to radiation. The administrator, a woman who loves her charges, faces an enormous crisis when a new administration decides to use The Place's residents as guinea pigs in experiments to study radiation effects. The ending is not to be read when home alone.

Facing the Danger: Interviews with Twenty Antinuclear Activists, by Sam Totten and Martha Wescoat Totten (The Crossing Press, paper, $8.95). These first-person profiles include several former members of the nuclear establishment whose "psychic numbing" has worn off. Sister Rosalie Bertell, a biologist who is researching radiation effects, describes a terrifying automobile near-accident, which she believes was engineered by nuclear industry supporters, that brings the Silkwood story to mind. Other profiles: scientists such as Ernest Sternglass and Ted Taylor, atomic veterans, a Hiroshima survivor, and activist clergy members.

Fearful Warriors: A Psychological Profile of US/Soviet Relations, by Ralph K. White (Free Press hardcover, $20). A former U.S. Information Agency officer who is currently a psychology professor and member of the steering committee of Psychologists for Social Responsibility, White believes that both superpowers "are doing war-provoking things because of fear." Aggression, such as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, is, if considered in context, usually defensive. White echoes Jonathan Schell, Freeman Dyson, and other recent writers by calling for "minimal deterrence."

FILMS AND SLIDES

The Biology of Nuclear War, by The Biology of Nuclear War Study Group of Harvard University. A sophisticated but simply presented slide show—79 color slides, narrative tape, and teacher's guide with suggestions for classroom discussion and student activities—suitable for high school students, or the general public. It describes the effects of the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the potential effects of today's weapons on people and the environment. ($100.25 slides, $32.25 film strip from Carolina Biological Supply Company, Burlington, NC 27215)

The Military Budget: Dollars and Defense, produced and directed by Gary Krane for the Fund for Peace and with the Center for Defense Information. The second in a film series (the first was *U.S. vs U.S.S.R.: Who's Ahead? See Resources, Jan '84*) that poses questions about defense policy and marshals critics to respond. In this new film host Hodding Carter examines the truth of the following Reagan administration assertions: defense spending has decreased since the 1960s; the defense budget is dictated by a military strategy and assessment of outside threats; defense spending is good for the economy. Devastating replies come from members of Congress, Pentagon officials' testimony and defense analysts. (29 minutes, color videotape, $50 rental from Cinema Guild, 1697 Broadway, Room 802, New York, NY 10019, 212-246-5522.)

Scene from "Our Lives and Our Children"

TAPES

Social Justice and Its Enemies Teach-In. Held in September 1982 in San Francisco under the auspices of the Association for Humanistic Sociology, this conference's speeches and panels are now available on tape cassettes for public or classroom use. Discussions cover the role of the media in disseminating information about disarmament, economic conversion, and the consequences of both conventional and nuclear war. A particularly interesting section describes the sufferings of Japanese atomic bomb survivors living in the United States. (Cassettes are $10 each, $100 for the set. For a complete list, contact Alan A. Zox, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Hartwick College, Oneonta, NY 13820 607-432-4200, ext. 482.)

ART

Our Lives and Our Children, photos and text by Robert Adams. A photographer who has lived near the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Plant since the 1950s witnessed one of the more than 200 fires at the plant in the early 1970s. He decided to document the lives of children, parents, and grandparents living perilously close to the plant, some of whom are presented here in 74 black-and-white enigmatic portraits. His brief text outlines the hazards of plutonium, the high level of radioactive materials that have leaked from the plant, and other accidental risks of the nuclear industry. A subtly disturbing book. ($12.50 paperback, Aperture, Millerton, NY 12546.)

HIROSHIMA APPEAL POSTER 1984. One of Japan's leading graphic designers, Kiyoshi Awazu, has designed this year's Hiroshima poster. Awazu says his colorful poster was inspired by the Catalan folk song "The Song of Birds," performed by Spanish cellist Pablo Casals (according to Casals, the birds' song sounds like "peace, peace"). The annual poster, sponsored by the Hiroshima International Cultural Foundation, is part of the broad effort to publicize Hiroshima's peace message to the world. (Contact Howard Gold, The Foundation For International Understanding, 230 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, MA 02116.)

GUIDE

Gray Panther Resource Guide on Peace & Disarmament, compiled by Glen Gersmehl. "Where can I find information when I need it on the technology of war?" "What about the Russians?" "How can we approach the key superpower issues?" This guide, designed to fit in the activist's pocket, suggests resources that address 10 such questions. It also presents background materials helpful for specific types of organizing strategies, from direct action, to electoral, to conflict resolution. ($1, Gray Panther Committee on Peace & Disarmament, 1125 Blake Street, Berkeley, CA 94702 415-444-7126.)

SPECIAL MENTION

Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear War: A Sourcebook for Health Professionals, by Christine Cassel, M.D., Michael McCally, M.D., and Henry Abraham, M.D. (Praeger hardcover, $29.95). The three editors, one of whom edits the Physicians for Social Responsibility newsletter, have assembled a textbook for courses on nuclear issues. The book is now offered at medical and public health schools, but is also for anyone interested in a solid collection of primary documents from a range of disciplines and viewpoints. Colin Gray and Keith Payne, in "Victory is Possible," argue in favor of limited nuclear war, while Arthur Macy Cox follows with an essay on the dangers of accidental war. Other sections cover weapons and their effects, radiation damages, the psychological and economic effects of the arms race, civil defense, arms control and its alternatives. A particularly interesting section on ethics discusses the interlocking relationship between war and patriotism. Appendices include two recent scientific reports on nuclear winter and long term consequences of nuclear war.

PHOTO BY ROBERT ADAMS

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Being with John F. Kennedy

This new intimate view presents a behind the scenes look at JFK, the man and his times. The film documents the history-making Kennedy style from young senator to candidate battling religious prejudice, through the glories of the New Frontier, to burdened President in crisis, to the tragedy in Dallas. You'll get closer to the Oval office than you've ever been.
100 minutes Color & BW 1983
Video Only
BETA & VHS $79.95/¾"–$495

Hazardous Waste

The Search for Solutions

Hal Holbrook narrates this probing documentary about concerned citizens successfully organizing at the local level to clean up some of the 17,000 toxic chemical dumps which have littered the countryside. Specific ideas are presented from the different perspectives of government, industry, and community. The film cuts across all boundaries, making it useful for everyone.
35 minutes Color 1984
$545/55 Video $250

If You Love This Planet

Academy Award 1982
Best Documentary Short

In a campus talk, Dr. Helen Caldicott, noted author and pediatrician, clearly emphasizes the perils of nuclear war and reveals a frightening progression of events which would follow a nuclear attack.
National Film Board of Canada
26 minutes Color 1982
$495/45

The Life & Times of Rosie the Riveter

In this valuable history of working women, five former "Rosies," movingly recall their experiences during World War II when women gained entry into major industrial plants for the first time. Their testimony is interwoven with rare archival recruiting films, posters and music of the period.
"The best film on working women I have seen." Molly Haskell, *MS Magazine.*
65 minutes Color 1980
$850/85 Video $595

Wild Goose Jack

This inspiring biographical film focuses on famed ornithologist and naturalist Jack Miner, known as "The Father of Conservation." With actual footage of Jack dating from 1915, the film recounts the remarkable career of this visionary man and the events which shaped his life and philosophy.
" ... a finely tuned look at a pioneer conservationist ... " Jim Bawden, *Toronto Star*
57 minutes Color 1983
$895/100 Video $250

SL-1

The Story of America's First Fatal Nuclear Accident

SL-1 uses recently declassified government film footage to recreate the true story of America's first nuclear accident which took place over 20 years ago. Previously repressed government evidence indicates that perhaps the disaster was caused by the suicidal impulse of an individual technician.
"A powerful and poignant blend of journalism, SL-1 is compelling viewing." *Variety*
60 minutes Color & BW 1984
$800/100

Eight Minutes to Midnight

A Portrait of Dr. Helen Caldicott
Academy Award Nomination 1981
60 minutes Color 1981
$800/100 Video $150

The Freeze

An Overview of the Arms Race
25 minutes Color 1983
$250/45 Video $100

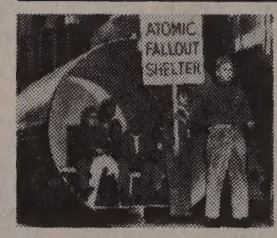
No Place to Hide

Growing Up in the Shadow of the Bomb
Narrated by Martin Sheen
29 minutes Color & BW 1982
$495/45 Video $150

Vietnam Requiem

Five Vietnam Veterans' Personal Stories
Emmy Award
58 Minutes Color 1983
$895/100 Video $250

Direct Cinema/Home Video**



Atomic Cafe

Archives Project 1982
BETA and VHS $54.95

Dr. Strangelove- or, How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb

Columbia Pictures 1964
BETA and VHS $49.95

Wasn't That a Time- The Weavers

UA Classics/Films Inc. 1982
BETA and VHS $49.95

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